

Message Text

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PAGE 01 CAIRO 08471 191559Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSM-03 DHA-02 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
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R 191455Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5229
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT EG
SUBJ: HAYKAL'S POSITION

REF: (A) CAIRO 7399, (B) CAIRO 5618

SUMMARY: HAYKAL, RESIDING COMFORTABLY IN CAIRO, CAN
DEFEND HIMSELF IN PRINT ONLY OUTSIDE EGYPT. IN BEIRUT
DAILY HE IS DOING SO, BLUNTLY REITERATING HIS CONCERN
THAT SADAT'S DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES ARE WRONG AND
RELATING HISTORY OF SADAT'S ON-AGAIN, OFF-AGAIN, CONFIDENCE
IN HIM. HAYKAL'S DEFENSE IS COGENTLY WRITTEN. GIVEN
HIS POLITICAL PRESTIGE IN AND OUTSIDE EGYPT, EFFORTS
CONTINUE RECONCILE HIM WITH SADAT. IF DRAFTED, HAYKAL
WOULD PROBABLY SERVE, BUT ONLY ON CONDITION HE PERMITTED
CONSIDERABLE LATITUDE FOR CRITICISM OF GOE IN ALL FIELDS.
END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 CAIRO 08471 191559Z

1. EX-NASSER CONFIDENT MUHAMMAD HASANAYN HAYKAL REMAINS THE
PHANTOM AT THE EGYPTIAN POLITICAL FEAST. HIS MANY
ADMIRERS CLAIM THAT IF SADAT COULD WIN HIM BACK, GOE'S
DOMESTIC PROBLEMS WOULD BE OVER FOR FORSEEABLE
FUTURE--- SUCH IS THEIR ESTIMATE OF PRESTIGE OF HAYKAL'S
PEN.

2. IN MEANTIME, SADAT SHOWS NO WISH WHATSOEVER TO WOO HAYKAL AND HAYKAL HIMSELF SITS BEHIND DESK IN HIS FASHION-ABLE APARTMENT RECEIVING VISITORS, TELEPHONE CALLS AND COURIERS JUST AS IF HE WERE STILL AHRAH EDITOR-IN-CHIEF. HE WRITES REGULARLY FOR PUBLICATIONS ABROAD, BUT NOT IN EGYPT.

3. AS ADDRESSEES WILL RECALL, ON EVE OF SADAT'S VISIT TO US, KAYKAL GAVE HIGHLY CRITICAL INTERVIEW TO HUNGARIAN TV TO WHICH SADAT RESPONDED IN BONN PRESS CONFERENCE AND IN MAY 1 SPEECH. SADAT, WITHOUT NAMING HAYKAL, CALLED HIM, IN EFFECT, "BOURGEOIS HYPOCRITE" (REFS A AND B).

4. ANWAR DEFENSE. HAYKAL'S APRIL 25 ARTICLE IN BEIRUT DAILY ANWAR IS RESPONSE TO SADAT'S BONN CRITICISM OF HUNGARIAN TV INTERVIEW. (THIS EDITION OF ANWAR WAS COMPLETELY SUPPRESSED IN EGYPT.) HAYKAL OBSERVES ATTACKS AGAINST HIM ARE NOT CREDIBLE AND LIKE DESERT STORM, SUBJECT TO "FOOLISH GUSTS AND NERVOUS SHIFTS".

5. POLICY VIEWS. HAYKAL ASCRIBES CAMPAIGN AGAINST HIM TO HIS INSISTENCE NASSER BE ASSESSED FAIRLY, HIS SPEAKING OUT "ON QUESTIONS OF DESTINY" , AND HIS CONCERN ABOUT "MUZZLED" EGYPTIAN MEDIA. HE REITERATES AMERICA DOES NOT HOLD 99 PERCENT OF CARDS, SETTLEMENT IS IN ARAB HANDS; POPULAR EXPLOSION RATHER THAN COMMUNIST SCHEME CAUSED JAN 18-19 RIOTING (AND POLITICAL/SOCIAL, NOT POLICE, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 CAIRO 08471 191559Z

REACTION IS REQUIRED); AND NOTES THAT ASCRIBING RIOTS TO COMMUNISTS INCORRECTLY ATTRIBUTES "CATASTROPHICALLY" GREAT POWER TO THEM.

6. INTELLIECTUAL IDEPENDENCE. CHARGES THAT HE IS COMMUNIST IGNORE HIS LONG AND DEEP DIFFERENCES WITH COMMUNISM: " I HAVE LEARNED TO RESPECT OTHERS' IDEOLOGY AND LIMIT MY DIFFERENCES WITH THEM TO DIALOGUE AND DISCUSSION". (READ: SADAT SHOULD DO THE SAME.) TO CHARGES THAT HE OPPOSES US, HAYKAL RECALLS PODGORNYY ONCE ASKED FOR HIS REMOVAL FROM AHRAH. AS NOTED IN TWO BOOKS, INCLUDING SHEAHAN'S, KISSINGER, TOO, ONCE ASKED FOR HIS "REMOVAL" FROM AHRAH. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS TESTIMONY TO SADAT " THAT I LIVE IN EGYPT.... IN HIS SECURE STATE" EVEN THOUGH "I WRITE ARTICLES DIFFERENCT FROM THE OFFICIAL LINE".

7. KAYKAL/SADAT RELATIONSHIP. AS TO SADAT'S CHARGE IN BONN THAT HAYKAL IS AN "AMERICAN AGENT" , HAYKAL

IS "SURE" PRESIDENT WAS MISREPORTED, SINCE SADAT HIMSELF BEGGED HIM ACCEPT A MINISTRY IN 1970 AND NASSER TRUSTED HIM WITH WRITING " MOST OF DOCUMENTS" FOR MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND PRESIDENCY AS WELL AS CHOOSING HIM AS COMPANION ON TWO MOSTIMPORTANT VISITS HE MADE TO MOSCOW. HAYKAL CLAIMS HE STOOD WITH SADAT AGAINST COUP MAKERS IN 1971. SADAT EVEN TOLD HIM DATE OF OCTOBER WAR IN ADVANCE. WHEN PRESIDENT DISAGREED WITH AHRAH ED-ITORIALS ON DISENGAGEMENT (PRE-SINAI I), HAYKAL RESIGNED ALTHOUGH SADAT HAD "BEGGED" HIM NOT TO . HAYKAL RECALLS SHORT RAPPROACHEMENT WITH SADAT BETWEEN END 1974 AND SUMMER 1975, WHEN HE WAS FIRST TO BE TOLD OF DECISION TO REOPEN SUEZ CANAL AND WAS OFFERED POST OF DEPUTY PRIMIN AND DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENCY, BUT SAYS HONEYMOON ENDED BECAUSE PRESIDENT WAS UNHAPPY WITH "ROAD TO RAMADAN", HAYKAL'S OCTOBER WAR BOOK.

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PAGE 04 CAIRO 08471 191559Z

8. FUTURE. ASKING, "DO I WANT POWER", KAYKAL REPLIES CRYPTICALLY "MY HEART IS SOMEWHERE ELSE AT THE PRESENT". TO QUESTION, "DO I WANT TO RETURN TO AHRAH", HE RECALLS HE WAS FIRED IN "DECENT" MANNER, BUT WAS PLANNING ANYWAY TO RESIGN ON REACHING AGE 50 AND WAS LUCKY CIRCUMSTANCES IMPOSED THIS ON HIM. TO THOSE WHO ARE PLEASED HE HAS LEFT THE PRESS, "I SIMPLY SAY: GO AHEAD, THE FIELD IS OPEN".

9. COMMENT: ARTICLE IS MINOR MASTERPIECE. HAYKAL DEFENDS HIMSELF COGENTLY, MIXING PRAISE FOR SADAT'S UNDOUBTED VIRTURES WITH IMPLICIT CRITICISM OF SADAT'S ON-AGAIN, OFF-AGAIN CONFIDENCE IN HIM. KAYKAL POINTS OUT HE IS NOT ANTI-AMERICAN, PRO-LIBYAN OR PRO-SOVIET --- HE IS EGYPTIAN AND ARAB NATIONALIST. HE GENUINELY DOUBTS WISDOM OF SADAT'S DOMESTIC OPEN DOOR POLICY AND HIS FOREIGN POLICY DECISION TO PUT ALL EGYPTIAN EGGS IN US BASKET. HE MADE CLEAR THAT IF SADAT WANTS HIM BACK, HE MUST ALLOW HIM LATITUDE TO WRITE IN ACCORDANCE WITH HIS BEILEFS. IN SUCH UNLIKELY CIRCUMSTANCES, WE THINK HAYKAL WOULD AGREE RETURN TO AHRAH. FONMIN FAHMY IS ONE OF SEVERAL SENIOR OFFICIALS WHO HAVE CONTINUOUSLY SOUGHT TO RECONCILE HIM WITH SADAT. IF WORKING RELATIONSHIP CAN BE ACHIEVED, SUPPORT OF HAYKAL'S PEN WOULD GO FAR TO SOLVE SADAT 'S LINGERING IMAGE PROBLEM AT HOME AND WOULD BE MAJOR FACTOR IN GARNERING ARAB SUPPORT FOR ANY UNPOPULAR DECISIONS PEACE PROCESS MIGHT FORCE ON GOE.
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Message Attributes

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Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
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